

## Message Text

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63  
ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

66604  
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R 092331Z NOV 73  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO RUESNG/USLO PEKING 1748  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T STATE 221336

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT RIYADH SEOUL INFO USUN NEW YORK TEHRAN FROM  
SECSTATE WASHDC 09 NOV 73:

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 221336

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS1  
TAGS: PFOR, UN, KN, KS, CH  
SUBJECT: KOREA IN THE UN.  
REF. : USUN 4566 AND 4569

1. YOU WILL NOTE FROM REFTELS THAT CHINESE IN NY HAVE  
OFFERED US A DEAL ON THE KOREAN ITEM, ESSENTIALLY ON THIS  
BASIS: (A) DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK BY CONSENSUS; (B) AGREEMENT  
THAT NEITHER OF THE TWO COMPETING RESOLUTIONS WOULD  
BE BROUGHT TO A VOTE; AND (C) STATEMENT BY THE COMMITTEE  
CHAIRMAN OR CONSENSUS DISPOSING OF THE ITEM. THE OUTLINE  
OF SUCH STATEMENT OR CONSENSUS PROVIDED BY HUANG HUA

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NOV 7 CONTAINED UNACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS BUT HE SHOWED WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TEXT. SUBSEQUENTLY CHINESE DISPLAYED NERVOUSNESS ABOUT CONFIDENTIALITY OF THEIR PROPOSAL AND SAID THEY HAD ENCOUNTERED

TROUBLE FROM THEIR CO-SPONSORS.

2. OUR ANALYSIS OF CHINESE MOTIVES IS THAT THEY CORRECTLY PERCEIVED THAT DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE KOREAN ITEM WOULD ONLY RESULT IN ACRIMONY WITH NEITHER RESOLUTION PASSING; AND THAT THEY MAY RECOGNIZE WE ARE IN SLIGHTLY BETTER VOTING POSITION THAN THEY. FROM HUANG'S URGING FOR IMMEDIATE REPLY, AND FROM INSISTENT PROBING FOR US REACTION BY HIS SUBORDINATES, WE CONCLUDE THAT CHINESE FEEL UNDER SOME PRESSURE TO MOVE QUICKLY. WHETHER THIS IS

REALLY DUE TO NEED TO CONTROL THEIR CO-SPONSORS, WHETHER IT IS A TACTICAL PLOY, OR WHETHER THEY ARE UNDER SOME COMPULSION TO BUTTON UP A DEAL BEFORE YOU ARE IN PEKING, IS DIFFICULT TO TELL.

3. BASICALLY WE THINK FORMULA FOR A DEAL OUTLINED BY HUANG WOULD BE IN INTEREST OF BOTH US AND PRC, PROVIDED SATISFACTORY LANGUAGE CAN BE WORKED OUT ON THE STATEMENT OR CONSENSUS. ROK REACTION TO PROSPECT OF SUCH DEAL IS FAVORABLE. FOREIGN MINISTER KIM IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE THREE PRINCIPLES AND WANTS US TO WORK OUT WORDING OF STATEMENT. (WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO KOREANS THAT WE ARE NOT AT THAT POINT YET.)

4. THERE IS A RISK FOR OUR POSITION IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE TOO PROLONGED: AS LONG AS WE NEGOTIATE WITH PRC, OUR OWN CO-SPONSORS WILL NOT WISH US TO MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT WE ARE DROPPING DUAL MEMBERSHIP PARAGRAPH FROM OUR RESOLUTION AND MOUNT CONCERTED EFFORT TO LINE UP MORE VOTES ON THAT BASIS. IF DEAL FALLS THROUGH IN LAST MOMENT, WE WOULD HAVE LOST VALUABLE TIME NEEDED TO ASSURE THE MARGIN OF SAFETY THAT WE STILL LACK TO OBTAIN PRIORITY FOR FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IN CASE OF A SHOWDOWN. (EVEN WITH SUCH ADDITIONAL VOTES, IT IS STILL NOT CERTAIN THAT WE CAN OBTAIN PRIORITY.)

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5. WE HAVE THESE OPTIONS:

A. KEEP DIALOGUE OPEN IN NY BUT NOT RPT NOT MOVE FORWARD UNTIL YOU ARE IN PEKING. THIS OPTION WOULD ENABLE YOU TO EXPLORE THE OUTLINES OF A DEAL IN GENERAL TERMS, LEAVING THE DETAILS TO BE WORKED OUT IN NY.

B. SET ASIDE THE PROFFERED COMPROMISE AND GO IN-STEAD FOR ONE THAT MIGHT REALLY DISPOSE OF THE ISSUE BY A RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES IN YOUR BRIEFING BOOK (TAB B), TRANSFERRING THE ISSUE FROM GA TO SECURITY COUNCIL.

C. PUSH FORWARD IN NY ON BASIS OF CHINESE PROPOSAL

BY WORKING OUT, AD REFERENDUM TO YOU, A MUTUALLY  
ACCEPTABLE STATEMENT -- OR GETTING THE CHINESE TO DROP  
STATEMENT ALTOGETHER. POSSIBLY AGREEMENT MIGHT THEN BE  
ANNOUNCED IN PEKING WHILE YOU ARE THERE. ALTERNATIVELY,  
IF WE RUN INTO DIFFICULTIES THAT CANNOT BE SURMOUNTED IN  
NEW YORK WE MIGHT HAVE BENEFIT OF YOUR PRESENCE IN PEKING  
TO TRY TO RESOLVE THEM AND CLINCH A DEAL THERE.

6. WHAT WE HAVE DONE SO FAR (ON BASIS CONSULTATION WITH  
ART HUMMEL, WHOM WE REACHED AT ANDREWS JUST BEFORE HIS  
DEPARTURE) WAS TO ASK AMB SCALI TO GIVE INTERIM REPLY  
THAT KEEPS THE DIALOGUE OPEN PENDING YOUR INSTRUCTIONS.  
WE HAVE THUS TOLD THE CHINESE NOV 8 THAT WE THINK THEIR  
PROPOSAL INTERESTING, THAT IT IS BASICALLY CONSTRUCTIVE,  
BUT THAT WE NEED FURTHER DETAILS; THAT WE CANNOT GIVE THEM  
AN ANSWER RIGHT AWAY, BUT THAT ELEMENTS OF CONSENSUS OR  
STATEMENT SKETCHED OUT BY HUANG CONTAIN UNACCEPTABLE  
ELEMENTS. ON WORKING LEVEL WE HAVE TRIED TO EXPLORE  
WHETHER CHINESE COULDN'T DROP THE IDEA OF A STATEMENT  
ALTOGETHER. PURPOSE OF THESE MOVES WAS TO PUT BALL BACK  
IN THE PRC COURT, PENDING INSTRUCTIONS.

7. ON BALANCE, WE FAVOR OPTION C AND WOULD LIKE YOUR  
AUTHORITY TO PURSUE IT, AD REFERENDUM. WE RECOGNIZE THIS  
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MAY MEAN THAT YOU WOULD HAVE LITTLE TO SAY ON THIS SUBJECT  
IN PEKING, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE CHINESE ARE SO  
ANXIOUS TO DO BUSINESS QUICKLY IN NY BECAUSE THEY WISH TO  
AVOID MAKING DEAL ON THE KOREAN ITEM IN THE LIMELIGHT OF  
YOUR PEKING VISIT. AT ANY RATE, THERE ARE ADVANTAGES IN  
TALKING IN NEW YORK BECAUSE EACH SIDE IS IN TOUCH WITH  
KEY CO-SPONSORS THERE, NOTABLY THE DPRK AND ROK. RUSH  
UNQUOTE RUSH

SECRET

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